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The Relations between Civilized and  
Uncivilized Races.



A PRIZE ESSAY

READ IN THE THEATRE, OXFORD,

JUNE 8, 1864.

BY

THOMAS KELLY CHEYNE, B.A.,

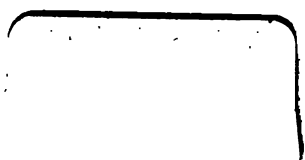
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OXFORD:

T. AND G. SHRIMPTON, BROAD-STREET.

1864.











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## The Relations between Civilized and Uncivilized Races.

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### I.

THE later course of European thought may be described as the battle of Impartiality against Power. National prejudice and the wrecks of mediæval fanaticism conspired to check the immortal spirit they could not bind. Civilization has been a fellow-sufferer with philosophy and religion. Men have always been apt to regard it as the exclusive product of one age and clime, and to strive to impress on less favoured races\* a stereotyped form of their own imagining. Rarely, and how rarely! the race whose path they cross is equal to them in body, and hardly inferior to them in mind, then, while the penalty bears heavily on the mind, the body is exempt. The one becomes weak and stunted, the other is a Samson yet, though asleep and in chains. But when the invading race is at once both stronger and wiser, sometimes quickly by the sword, sometimes slowly by its awkward kindness, it too often kills both mind and body. And this is the danger to apprehend for native races, when the common talk of Englishmen allows but one enlightened age and country. What England is to them, that was the Spain of Charles V. to the followers of Cortes and Pizarro; out of Spain civilization was not,—the scanty remnants of the Indian nations are the fruits of their policy. May not the unpopularity of English rule in the East be traced up to a current opinion that civilization and barbarism differ, not only in degree, but in kind?

The error may perhaps have arisen for want of observing the phenomena. Many as these are, and not always distinct, the deduction on the whole may be briefly stated thus. Civilization and barbarism are not absolute, but relative, not real, but conventional, the outer links in an unbroken chain reaching from the Andaman Islander<sup>b</sup> (we no longer say the Hottentot) to the Greek or the Englishman. Doubtless co-operation is the test of culture, but the germ of it is found even in savage life. A little more of the combining power, a little higher in the scale of culture. There are degrees even in African savagery.

But the gist of the matter lies not with Andamaners or Austra-

\* Throughout the Essay "race" must be understood in its popular, not in its scientific, sense.

<sup>b</sup> See Dr. Mouat's Adventures in the Andaman Islands.

lians. Happily they are exceptional cases, reclaimable only under certain conditions<sup>c</sup>, which are either still undiscovered, or have not yet been allowed for. Honour and humanity alike bid us to make the attempt, yet the loss we should suffer by their extinction would not for generations exceed the material one which the death of any human being entails upon us. Nor does it lie mainly with any of the tribes, which in the picturesque language of Latinized provincials we call savage. That Procrustean torture of making one type of society the standard for all has been tried upon other and nobler races. How early tried, we know not<sup>d</sup>: civilized arrogance is not a weed of modern growth. It is a history which can never be written, the contact of young civilization with primæval barbarism. Or, if at least it may be written, the hour has not yet come, the future Niebuhr is not yet born<sup>e</sup>. The alchemy of divination may perhaps transmute those vague traditions into a consistent whole. An older comparative science of philology and mythology may perhaps succeed in retracing the outlines of pre-historic civilizations. But the present object of inquiry is not scientific, but practical, and the range of credible history, however limited, is sufficient to enable us by its light to satisfy the modern problems of the intercourse of races.

Where, then, is the missing link between civilization and barbarism? In the distant continents and islands of East and West, preserved by their seclusion from the quickening or destroying breath of larger cultures. Little as we know of them, one visible proof remains of imperfection, the rapid flow and ebb of their fleeting civilizations. Relics are found of a higher state even among the most barbarous tribes, like drifts from a far-off wreck, telling their own tale, when the voice of tradition has expired in the distance. The boomerang of the Australian native required a series of projectile experiments, which in his present state of debasement is incredible. The ancient adze or axe of the New Zealander implies a degree of mechanical ingenuity, which, if it once existed, has long since been forgotten. The remarkable discoveries in Ohio attest an engineering and industrial skill, which amazes us in the kinsmen of the Red Indian savage<sup>f</sup>. And here indeed is food for wonder, and something more. What a succession of changes must have passed over America, before a mature civilization, with its latest birth, History, arrived! The Aztec learned from the Toltec, but whence came the civilization of the

<sup>c</sup> The history of the aborigines of Van Diemen's Land furnishes a sad comment. Yet Miss Nightingale has said, "There is no proof that education, if properly conducted, tends to extinguish race."

<sup>d</sup> As early as the Cyclopes of Homer and the despised bushmen of Job, (xxx. 1-8).

<sup>e</sup> The above was written before reading Dr. Wilson's Pre-historic Man, a more

sober but far surer guide than the brilliant guesses of a Niebuhr. Dr. Wilson has shewn the weakness of the craniological side of the argument for American homogeneity, but the moral and philological one remains.

<sup>f</sup> See Delafield's Antiquities of America, reviewed in *Athenæum*, Jan. 25, 1840; and Dr. Wilson's Pre-historic Man.

teacher? Was it cradled in those mysterious mounds of the far north-west, kindred at least, if not the same, in the type which they present? Was it evolved from within, or from germs implanted by some grand primitive civilization, that unknown power, which has left traces of its influence in Egypt and in Hindustan?

Be this as it may, the culture of the Aztecs, under reserve we say it, was stationary. It is possible that a longer term of national independence might have carried them some degrees further on the path of progress. It is possible, too, that the llama, so bountiful a substitute for other domesticated animals, might have been better appreciated by the Aztecs, than it was by the Incas of Peru. But it is far more likely that the two fatal spells of despotism and cannibalism would have continued to blast the springs of social and intellectual life. We ought, however, to award their due place even to the earliest symptoms of civilization. All the various elements by which Mill distinguishes it from barbarism, existed in Mexico<sup>b</sup>. A population of towns and villages, an incipient currency, great mechanical skill, and high respect paid to the merchant, admirable discipline, systematic justice, add to these extraordinary astronomical precision, and a rude but expressive method of hieroglyphics,—are sufficient to place them on the whole a little lower than the Egyptians, and a little higher than the Peruvians.

The same baleful shadow fell on the civilizations of the East, at first so fruitful in great discoveries, then suddenly so barren and stationary. That balance of interests, which impels the march of European society, was replaced by a monotonous, despotic simplicity. The precise moment, however, when progress was arrested, varied with different races. In both Egypt and India civilization was pervaded by a theocratic element, but the development which preceded the check was much lower in the one than in the other. To stop short for centuries at phonetic hieroglyphics, and allow Phœnicians to draw the inevitable conclusion of an alphabet, seems little less than the effect of glamour. How much higher stands Brahminic India, with a science of language and a profound philosophy only rivalled by those of Germany!

Here, then, is a broad original distinction between the civilization of the Indo-European and that of other not perhaps inferior races. The latter exhibit mainly the perfection of material, the former of intellectual culture. Material progress, indeed, linked as it generally is with moral, deserves all respect. But severed from sound intellectual development, and unrelieved by the expression of beauty, it is ignoble, if nothing worse. Gunpowder,

<sup>a</sup> The traditions of all nations represent the civilizer as a foreign or celestial personage, some mild, long-bearded man from the East, like that shadowy form of Az-

tec myths, which has shared the fate of the brave before Agamemnon.

<sup>b</sup> Mill's *Essay on Civilization*; Prescott's *Mexico*, *Introd.*

the compass, and the press, will hardly redeem a music without melody, a drawing without figure or perspective, a Confucian philosophy<sup>1</sup>.

Thanks, then, to Asia for initiating mediæval Europe into the industrial arts. If high civilization consists, as we believe it does, in maintaining a due balance between the material and the intellectual, one half our civilization we owe to Asia; to whom do we owe the other but to Greece?

The ideal of a high social state delineated by our own philosopher<sup>2</sup>, of a state in which the highest degree of individuality should be enjoyed consistent with public safety, was but an echo of the funeral speech of Pericles. But of the claims of labour the orator speaks not a word. He would have shewed us perhaps the splendid monuments of Attic genius, and told us that arts which created such were alone ennobling. He knew not, as who could know, that here was the rock on which the graceful bark would strike. To set it in other phrase, the rapid decay of Hellenic civilization, like the palsy which fell on the elder East, was due to its over-simplicity. Unchecked in its vigour, it was also unsustainable in its decay by any secondary principle,—a heavy price indeed to pay for that rarest but most ephemeral of unities.

Christianity came at length, came to quicken the dead, and did so by infusing a multiform variety. What was good in the old social frame she preserved, but mingled with it the free independent elements of barbarian life. With variety came progress, a progress not to be stifled by revolution, nor to swerve from the grandest aim, a progress which is the distinctive mark of the highest, the Christian, type of civilization. For a short time, indeed, the arms and culture of Arabia seemed to threaten the very existence of the Christian society. But while they shone, they shone by a borrowed light, and when they fell, they fell by their own weakness.

Vast, then, as the distance seems from the Red Indian to the Englishman, the bridge of civilization spans it,—civilization which is confined to no race, but common as the light, and various as nature. Perhaps its innermost meaning is the improvement of nature, where there is a germ, developing it, where defect, fulfilling it, where excess, toning it down,—an improvement in which the most advanced are young, and have many lessons yet to learn from diverse but not inferior races. For diverse as they are, they each possess, or should possess, a civilization of their own, worked out in their own way, and bearing the impress of their peculiar character. But amidst and over all, the mind is filled by an ideal state, in which all the parts of society move in harmony together, where visions of truth and beauty are rewarded in the student, and self-reliant independence in the labourer, these in the first

<sup>1</sup> Compare Alcock's *Capital of the Tycoon*, vol. i. p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Mill's *Liberty*: comp. Thucyd. ii. 37.

and highest place, but where material progress has its due though not excessive honour, not for itself, but in so far as it mitigates the pains, and raises the moral standard of the poor, and brings into friendly intercourse the scattered nations of the world. This is civilization.

## II.

The essence of such a lofty state being its expansiveness, it follows that Christendom, in proportion as it has reached it, will be expansive too,—expansive, doubtless, in all directions, from the ice-bound civilizations of the torpid East to the hunting or fishing, pastoral or agricultural savages, who have taken but the first step or two on the road of improvement.

Unity, no less than brevity, confines us to the latter, and even here we are embarrassed, not by the want, but by the fulness of material. If by a moral anachronism Aristotle or Diodorus had investigated our subject, many a Gordian knot would have been cut, many a hard chapter rendered superfluous.

We need not, then, examine the relations of the English with the native races of India, and if those of the Spaniards with the Mexicans and Peruvians present an apparent exception, a moment's reflection will justify the course pursued. For the arrival of the Spaniards was a fatal epoch in the history of those unhappy races; before it, they possessed civilizations imperfect indeed yet real, but after it, the old order of things was crushed into a ruinous heap, and the descendant of Montezuma and Atahualpa became the rude, improvident, languid, fireside-haunting savage.

A short but necessary prelude is due to the great civilizing powers of the ancient world. Their task was comparatively easy, but it was proportioned to their powers and experience. Their relations were restricted in the main to the last of the four mentioned kinds of savage life. The Phœnicians and the early Greeks can seldom be said to have penetrated inland, and maritime tribes are always addicted to more settled habits. The later Greeks came into collision with the old civilizations of the East. The migratory swarms which threatened the Roman frontiers, little as we know of their habits, were certainly neither hunters nor shepherds. The nomade Bedouins consistently defied the arms of the Universal Monarchy. Plainly there were cases to which the tradition of civilization by conquest was inapplicable.

But whether Civilization, like Poverty, comes as an armed man, or whether as a peaceful colonist, the savage who depends on agriculture is prepared to welcome it. What reckes the nomade of ploughing and weaving, when he prefers venison to bread and skins to cloth? But the Maori, who has no buffalo to chase, who feeds on fish or the sweet potato, sees at once that the plough is a better implement than a sharp stick, and that cloth is woven

in a loom more easily than with the hands. The races which felt the influence of ancient civilization were probably more advanced than the Maori, but this would only make them more quick to appreciate, and more ready to grasp, the benefits conferred on them.

1. To us the most important of the early strata of civilization is the Phœnician. It gave us the alphabet, and refused, as it were, to write its own history. The original centre of all subsequent activity, it shrouded itself in mystery like a midnight conspirator.

It is a faint light which dawns upon us from the merchantmen of Tyre. Patiently they coasted along, those venturesome row-boats, from sea to sea, from continent to continent. They trafficked with men of every race, from the hardy Celt to the effeminate Tamil. Their further relations rest partly on conjecture. They would be of two kinds, and would vary with the presumed value of commerce. For commerce was then an experiment, and the merchant an adventurer. Lands were called rich for their gold and silver, not for their fruitful fields,—Spain for its silver, Ophir for its gold, the Baltic coast for its amber<sup>1</sup>. These were the shores which attracted the fortune-seeker, and a regard for his own interest would prompt him to detain all available labourers on the treasure-laden soil. Less favoured countries would supply the emporia of the slave-trade. “Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants in the persons of men, and implements of copper they supplied in thy market<sup>m</sup>.” But no riches were like mineral riches, and no country even of the jewelled East so teemed with them as Spain. Andalusia became rapidly Phœnician; its Tartar inhabitants, known to the Greeks as Iberians, bore the first shock of the contact with civilized power. We seem to be reading the tale of Peru. Galley after galley was despatched from the fortunate shore, laden with a silver freight, secured with a silver anchor<sup>n</sup>. But this could not last long; as at Potosi, the surface-ore would soon be exhausted. Then would come a demand for systematic mining labour, and since uncivilized man detests a system, much perhaps unavoidable oppression<sup>o</sup>. “The discovery,” says Gibbon, “of the rich Western Continent by the Phœnicians, and the oppression of the simple natives, who were compelled to labour in their own mines for the benefit of strangers, form an exact type of the more recent history of Spanish America<sup>p</sup>.”

But if the Phœnicians were ever oppressive, they did not add scorn to oppression. Like the Conquerors of America, they intermarried with the native race, but, unlike them, they civilized it too.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. iii. 115.

<sup>m</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 13. Tubal and Meshech are *Cappadocia* and the Caucasian districts. Comp. the story of Eumæus in *Odys.* xv. 402.

<sup>n</sup> Diod. Sic., i. 35.

<sup>o</sup> “Overflow thy land as a river, O daughter of Tarshish, Restraint is no more.” Isa. xxxiii. 10. Diodorus describes the misery of the slaves employed in the mines. i. 38.

<sup>p</sup> Smith's Gibbon, vol. i. p. 296.

They taught the Iberians many useful arts—they taught them to write<sup>q</sup>; the Spanish hidalgos refrained from both.

A frailer and less profitable bond, the mysterious tin-trade, connected them with the Celts of Cornwall and Dartmoor. Tradition is silent on the meeting; it is the mythic<sup>r</sup> era of winged serpents. Cairns and kistvaens and the rudest of tools are the sole memorials of the first British miners. How these were treated we know not, but Phœnician civilization cannot have left them as it found them<sup>s</sup>. Few certain relics have been found; Ireland is far richer, at least if the bardic tradition of the Spanish Phenians, so curiously reproduced across the Atlantic, may be connected with the subterranean chambers, apparently Phœnician, discovered near Drogheda.

It was too soon yet for men to theorize; self-interest was the Phœnician theory, and in the main a beneficial one. Certainly the temptation, to which Carthage yielded, of combining commerce with conquest, was much more injurious to advancing civilization. Even when she conciliated, it was for aggressive ends. Iberian loyalty was well tested, but ill rewarded. Imagine the flower of the Maories and Caffres drawn off to fight our foreign battles, instead of learning civilization in their schools at home. The alternatives were offered, a smaller but yet ample commerce, or the insecure conquests of mercenary forces; she made her election, and paid dearly for it. Her Tyrian mother-city was wiser in her generation. Two strong but peaceful influences radiated from each Phœnician settlement—its alphabet and its religion; the former commonly, the latter always. To whichever portion of the Shemitic race we owe the invention, or at least the development of the alphabet, certainly the Phœnicians were the first to propagate it. Sometimes directly, as in the case of Greece, sometimes by transmission, they scattered it broadcast over nearly all Europe and Asia.

Still more tenacious was their religious influence, that prestige of a superior race, which is ever found so potent an instrument of conversion. The sensual tendencies of Oriental blood seem to have softened by contact with colder natures. No human sacrifice darkened the classic refinements of Syrian idolatry. Scandinavia, too, if we may trust her antiquaries<sup>t</sup>, received it in a sterner and purer form. The mild and good Balder is but a new version of Baal, god of the sun. The fiery rites of the Canaanites re-appear in the superstitions of Midsummer Night. The tomb of Kivik and the caverns of Drogheda are said to attest the worship of Baal with its human sacrifices. Even now in Ireland the month of

<sup>q</sup> Strabo, p. 139.

<sup>r</sup> At least mythical in Britain, whether mythical or not in Arabia.

<sup>s</sup> Diod. Sic., v. 22; Strabo, p. 265. The age of bronze in Cornwall, as also in Scandinavia, was probably not indigenous, but introduced by Phœnician civilization. For

the Phœnicians in France, see Martin's *Histoire de France*, ch. i.

<sup>t</sup> M. Nillson even presses into his service the names of the Baltic and the Belt. He regards Druidism as a degenerate form of Baal-worship. See *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 1, 1862.



Mary has not supplanted "the month of Baal". Marseilles had its temple of Baal, its altars to Astarte, its two characteristic beacon-towers. Drusus had heard of other Pillars of Hercules on the Northern Sea<sup>1</sup>.

The monument of Kivik in Scania is at once a tomb and a triumphal trophy. It is an emblem of the singular taste of the Phœnician people. So far did they carry their protectionism, as to prefer the loss even of military glory to the possible diminution of a lucrative commerce. A people of broader aim and greater powers of assimilation succeeded to the task which their teachers relinquished.

2. Greek philosophy gives us the first theory (we shall discuss it under another form) of the relations between civilized and uncivilized races. Some are born to slavery; deficient in intellect, they are incapable of forethought. Some are born to empire; their power of forethought is their title, it is the interest of the slave himself. This is the one right of the slave, protection. Or another division may be made. Without courage civilization wants a limb. The Asiatic may be distinguished in intellect and in art, and yet he is born to serve, as the Greek is born to rule. What we are accustomed to call the savage virtues are placed above the mere refinements of civilization. The rude, uncultivated man of Europe holds his personal freedom by his sword. But he is incapable of *πολιτεία*, and therefore of empire. The Greek (not even every Greek), placed in a geographical mean, adds the intellect of Asia to the courage of Europe. He is *de jure* lord of the world, and is only hindered from being so *de facto* by his want of national unity<sup>2</sup>.

The philosopher was standing on the isthmus between two political systems; a few years, and the Hellenic forces marshalled under Alexander bid fair to realize the promised empire. From Homer to Aristotle, this instinct of supremacy had lain deep down in the heart of the Greek. Sometimes it arrayed itself in passionate emotion, when his own free soil was trodden by invaders. More generally he contented himself with his barbarian bondsmen, living tools which saved the Greek gentleman from vulgar labour. It is a shame, says Plato<sup>3</sup>, for Greek to enslave Greek, but the barbarian is his natural enemy. Or else a scanty band of Greek colonists, outnumbered by surrounding barbarians, would illustrate their inherent supremacy by their national versatility. They ruled their foes by becoming necessary to them, they struck them with awe by their moral greatness, by the winds which seemed to watch over their commerce, by the novel spectacle of a free community, by justice in the market, and by discipline in the camp. To come

<sup>1</sup> May in Irish is *Mi Beal teinne*.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Germ., 34.

<sup>3</sup> Arist. Pol., i. 1, 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Plat. de Rep., l. v. p. 470. It is im-

possible to do more than allude to the civilizing effect of personal slavery, as distinguished from political, on portions at least of the barbarian races.

within the magic circle was to be absorbed. The fragmentary civilization of the Phœnicians gave way before it. Sicily and southern Italy were all but Hellenized. In Asia, indeed, their influence was confined to a close network of maritime colonies. But when the conquests of Alexander opened up so large a part of Asia, these colonies provided the starting-points for a fresh outburst of Hellenistic energy. The one great monument of the conqueror in Egypt diverted to itself the chief commerce of the East. Syria, Mesopotamia, and Lesser Asia were covered with the new foundations of the Seleucidæ. No doubt Oriental feelings reacted on the Greek immigrants. The citizen of Athens would have looked with disgust on the Greek of Antioch and Alexandria. But the social and political consequences were still immense. Roman proconsuls could never supplant the language or destroy the strong municipal life of Hellenized Asia. If the modern Greeks are the true heirs of the ancient Hellenes, it is due entirely to this irresistible power of assimilation. Yet the last great attack, vigorous as it was, is not so glorious perhaps for Greece as the less ostentatious ones of earlier times. For the enemy to be encountered was not what we call barbarism, but a real though stationary and decrepit civilization. The further East was barely touched by Hellenic culture. The precarious garrisons planted by Alexander in Sogdiana broke away in mutiny on the news of his death<sup>a</sup>. In fact, no honest, whole-hearted incursion on the territory of barbarism had yet been made.

3. And none perhaps might there ever have been, but for the conquering instincts of a warlike race, and the uneasy movements of the northern tribes, the first issuing in the Roman, the second in the feudal framework of society. The period of colonies is adjourned; they have proved too partial in their effects to be sufficient civilizing powers. Civilization will henceforth follow in the train of conquest, gaining no doubt an increased range, but losing perhaps as much in flexibility and permanence. Rude will be the lesson needed to correct the fault.

The outward show, however, of Latinized society was vividly imposing. No sooner was a barbaric province won than it took the colossal impress of imperial might. A network of roads and cities can be traced from the Danube to the Clyde. Even little Caer-leon in distant Wales boasted (the chronicler saith<sup>b</sup>) its hot baths, its temples, its palaces with gilded roofs. Nor was education denied. Wit, poetry, philosophy flowed from the provinces to Rome, students from Rome to the provinces, especially to the Gallic Athens, Marseilles. The subject races, too, with whom we are most concerned, mingled in the ferment. Agricola incites the young British chieftains to emulate the example of the Gauls. "Idque apud imperitis humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis

<sup>a</sup> Grote's *Greece*, vol. xii. p. 361.

<sup>b</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Wright's transl.*, p. 372.

esset<sup>c</sup>." And yet all this material splendour, all this active intellectual machinery, sank down, and like a breath passed away, without a complaint heard, without a hand raised to defend it. Better less magnificence with more independence. Municipal life itself was a meagre phantom, a fatal gift to the *curiales* who enjoyed it<sup>d</sup>. No bond of national union was left; the destroying flood surged up, and the dykes were gone.

Before bidding farewell to old Rome as a teacher, it may be well to note wherein lay her strength, and wherein her weakness. Strong in her theory, which was a great advance on that of the Greeks, she was weak in practice. How vast a stride she had made in the moral conception of her position may be seen most distinctly at the era of the Antonines, the golden age of the two great allied powers, Roman Stoicism and Roman jurisprudence. To the Stoic precept of life according to nature we owe the doctrine of the fundamental equality of human beings<sup>e</sup>. Compare the *ἄρχον φύσει καὶ ἀρχόμενον* of Aristotle with the "*Omnes homines naturā æquales sunt*" of Ulpian. But unfortunately for its logic, this splendidly broad axiom depended for its realization on a preparatory process of conquest. Law, indeed, disdains logic, and the axiom of Ulpian is not yet political, but jural. The theory, however, which underlies it is equally applicable to all human relations, and we cannot help feeling disappointed that it was carried so imperfectly into practice.

Even after all resistance was quelled, the Romans were guilty, no less than the Greeks, of a certain unsociability in their intercourse with the natives. The key which unlocks the heart of a nation, its vernacular speech, they neglected ostentatiously to acquire. It may be questioned whether Latin civilization had penetrated, even in Gaul, very far down below the surface.

But soon was Roman pride compelled to take a closer interest in the despised barbarians. During the long years which passed away before the fusion of the two races was complete, the ancient masters of the world took the unwonted place of subjects or of slaves. It was a painful but beneficial inversion of circumstances, proving that conquest is then only dangerous, when the self-respect, and with it the social life of the conquered, is destroyed. If the Romans lost a material, they preserved a spiritual empire. If the sceptre and the sword were claimed by the conquerors, the altar and the pen were generally resigned to the Latin clergy—the same tribute to the awe of an old civilization which had been paid by Persian kings to Median magi. Such was the intellectual action of the Roman element; it was very slow to penetrate the confused mass of barbaric society, but it saved the light of letters

<sup>c</sup> Tac. Agric., 21.

<sup>d</sup> Guizot, *Essais sur l'Histoire de France*. Elsewhere he points out the gradual nature of the barbaric invasion,

but viewing the result as a whole, the image of a storm seems not altogether out of place.

<sup>e</sup> See Maine's *Ancient Law*, pp. 92—94.

and of arts from being utterly quenched. The Lombards alone of the northern tribes withstood, so far as they might, that potent spell. Hating and hated<sup>f</sup>, slow to mix and slow to learn, they dwelt apart from their Latin subjects, when other races had already made the first steps towards a common nationality. Yet if to be original is the soul of progress, as progress is of civilization, we owe more to the masterful, unbending Lombards, than we do to the more susceptible natures of Goths and Franks. The staunch tenacity of those wildest of Northmen lived again in the heroic struggles of the Lombard League. The sublime, distinctive architecture of the Middle Ages may by a better right be called Lombard than Gothic. The Goth, unambitious of monuments, was content to adopt; the Lombard borrowed indeed, but borrowed like a prince: such fruitful admiration was not perhaps unworthy to be chosen by Dante as a faint image of his own in the heaven of heavens<sup>g</sup>.

We must not forget, though we cannot dwell upon, the political action of the Roman element, in the refining influence of its legal code, in the imposing tradition of the imperial title, and in the buried germ of municipal life, which, in Italy at least, preserved the ancient forms down to a late period of the Middle Ages<sup>h</sup>.

Such was the tolerance of the Northmen, not the tolerance of Saracenic disdain, but a debt paid to intellectual superiority. Doubtless there were many individual instances of suffering, of injustice and oppression, but milder influences were sure in the long run to assert their sway. Hence arose, as Guizot has shewn<sup>i</sup>, a barbarian reaction, both political and moral. The devotion of man to man, which culminated in the feudal system, was unheard of before the warrior-bands swept down from Germany. Deliberative assemblies of freemen, if they were not invented, were at least resuscitated by the barbarians: we owe our parliaments to the Teutonic *máls*. And all this was but the political expression of the grand moral sentiment of personal independence. That sentiment and that expression are the bridge, as it were, which leads us into another country, with a new society, new modes of thought, new relations with uncivilized races. There were giants on the earth in those days, and the giant-children soon began to try their strength.

### III.

“Conosciuto il mondo  
Non cresce, anzi si scema.”—LEOPARDI.

The year 1492 is a critical year in the history of civilization. We have left the old world and its balance of race behind us, and

<sup>f</sup> “Nefandissimi Lombardi” is the standing epithet applied to them by the Popes. Milman’s *Latin Christianity*.  
<sup>g</sup> *Paradiso*, xxxi. 31.

<sup>h</sup> Niebuhr’s *Life and Letters*, vol. i. p. 168.

<sup>i</sup> *Civilisation en France*, vol. ii. pp. 397—400.

find ourselves sailing among new continents and islands, each inhabited by a new and backward race, and each presenting us with new problems more difficult to satisfy. One can envy the moment of transition, the thrill that must have run through Columbus and his Phœnician predecessors, as they passed from the guess-work of fancy to the luminous haze of a first discovery. Civilization was slowly learning the strength of the foe it had to encounter; then and long after it seemed like a coast where the sea gains more on one side than it loses on another. But now, so far as voyaging can do it, the dark places of the earth are become light. The charm of mystery was broken when the virgin river of Africa yielded up its secret. Can it be said that the progress of civilization has kept pace with the discovery of barbarism? For the achievements of the old civilization were not slight nor transient. Phœnician ships carried freights more precious than bales of commerce. The material forms of Roman, the intellectual of Hellenic life, prevailed from Spain to the gates of Arabia. They were sometimes driven into a corner, but, except in the most exposed provinces, never lapsed into utter barbarism. The savage tribes, indeed, of the north and east of Europe were left for Christianity to humanize, but for Christianity of a Latin or Hellenic type. It is perhaps the greatest glory of modern times, but of slow achievement, and only now winning its crowning success in semi-barbarous Muscovy. Our own peculiar task lies outside of Europe. Civilization in Asia has taken a more Asiatic form, but can hardly be said to have extended itself; in Africa and America it has worn the strange disguise of slavery and extermination, while in the newest and farthest of the world's arbitrary divisions it is sadly emerging from the first stage of experiment.

Perhaps the first view of our barbaric field of labour is apt to be that of a dead level of monotonous uniformity. There are certain features which strike us equally in all uncivilized races, their lawlessness, their isolation<sup>k</sup>, their improvidence, their want of power to adapt means to ends, the weakness of their domestic ties. A nearer glance, however, detects hills and valleys, lights and shades, even in the dull grey plain of barbarism. The first distinction is that of occupation. We have already noticed that the nomade is less susceptible of civilization than the agriculturist. No logic but that of necessity can persuade him of its value. Conquered, like the Highlander, or conqueror, like the Magyar<sup>l</sup> or Mant-choo, these are the only states in which the nomade has put off his nature. But there are varieties among nomades themselves. If civilization exists, according to Mr. Craufurd, "in

<sup>k</sup> Hence arise two great obstacles to civilization, an uncommercial spirit, and that variety of languages which bears an inverse proportion to the intellectual culture of those who speak them.

<sup>l</sup> Originally the Magyars had exactly

the same physical characteristics as the other hunting and fishing tribes of the Uralian mountains. Ten centuries of civilization have almost magically transformed them. Prichard's *Physical History of Mankind*.

proportion to the number and variety of the animals which man has subdued to his service<sup>m</sup>, the pastoral implies a much greater amount of civilization than the hunting life. A still broader distinction is that of race. Let three suffice as typical instances, three which exhibit on the largest scale the good and evil of the process of civilization.

The first race is the African, in all its but half-known families, Shemitic or Hamitic, shading down from the Egyptian to the Hottentot, but idealized into that well-known type of a lazy, laughing, sensuous, imitative nature, the Negro.

The American, least pliant of races, exhibits the same moral unity in the same physical and intellectual variety. A more or less delicate frame, dusky tint, and rounded<sup>n</sup> skull, a higher or lower intellectual development, cover still the same weakness of the social feeling, the same wealth of cunning and dissimulation, the same settled revenge, the same severe repose on that impassible face. May we not call him, morally at least, a barbarized Italian of the Middle Ages<sup>o</sup>?

If the American is the Italian, the New Zealander may be called the Dutchman of the savage world, at least in courage and in seamanship. Sensitive but cautious, easy to be convinced but hard to be subdued, keen-witted but cool-hearted, tall of form, with a high, pyramidal forehead,—such is the Maori. No less typical are the three hierarchs of civilization who are mingled up in their history.

Proud, religious, and independent, idle in repose but energetic in action, with an epical love of grand surprizes, the Spaniard was the Paladin of the sixteenth century. Spaniards in race, if not in name, were first in “the dedication of themselves to unpath’d waters, undream’d shores.” First, but not long. Flushed with the Moorish crusade, led by a Cortes and a Pizarro, the genuine *hidalgo* soon rivalled the fame of Gama, Cabral, Magellan. But the transient fever of conquest was followed by moral and physical languor. A *Conquistador* disdained the slow processes even of tropical agriculture. He asked gold, not yams and potatoes, from the generous soil he had won. He exchanged his casque for the *sombrero* of the planter, his valiant sword for the whip of the *feitor*. For the sake of a few golden ingots, he burned the forests, upheaved the ground, decimated the Indian *pueblos*, and condemned several millions of negroes to slavery<sup>p</sup>.

The same fervent religion which inspired the Spaniard of the

<sup>m</sup> British Association, 1863. The native Australians possessed no domesticated animal but the dog, the Andaman Islanders none at all. The backwardness of the American Indians is ascribed to their want of domesticable animals which will breed in confinement. Bates’s *Naturalist on the Amazon*, vol. i. p. 192.

<sup>n</sup> Dr. Wilson’s craniological chapter in *Pre-historic Man* renders reserve necessary on this point.

<sup>o</sup> Compare Macaulay’s *Essay on Machiavelli*.

<sup>p</sup> See *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 1, 1863.

south kindled with a milder and more genial glow in the Frenchman of the north. No less religious in that day than the Spaniard, he was stirred by a more absorbing love of physical discovery. Adroit, buoyant, and sociable, no nation in the world has known so well the art of conciliating savage tribes<sup>1</sup>. But the advantageous start in the race of colonization obtained by the French, was neutralized by their inferior tenacity in contending with the luxuriance of a virgin soil.

That persevering tenacity is a peculiar quality of the sturdy, self-reliant Englishman. The wild American and Australian bush is, like the sea, his second element. Hardly less peculiar to him is the habit, not unobserved by Bacon, of working out in a foreign land the problems of political liberty. The birth at least of our American colonies was undisturbed by any petty hankering after the rich peltries of the north. Nor can the kinsmen of the Pilgrim Fathers and of Baltimore willingly admit a deficiency even in religious feeling. It was religious enthusiasm which colonized New England no less than Canada and Mexico: alas for the grievous errors which, amidst these advantages, have defaced the English policy towards uncivilized races!

Three other nations deserve at least a mention. Two are European:—the Dutch<sup>2</sup>, most commercial, least political, perhaps the least humane of colonists, and the Russians<sup>3</sup>, rudely cultivated and slowly aggressive, pioneers of civilization in the most unkindly soil, the nomade tribes of Kirghis, Bashkirs, and Buriats. The third is Asiatic, the most energetic branch of the most cosmopolitan of races—the Arabs. Long as unknown, and perhaps as wonderful as the Campanian cities, the living traces of African Arabism are becoming each day more numerous. Renan and Burton agree in assigning to the Moslems the apostolate<sup>4</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Don Josef de Gorraez, speaking of the intercourse of the French with the Indians in 1744, says, "Posthen en Hodas, muchos precidios, crecidos pueblos, numerosas naciones de Yndios con quienes facilmente congenian rayandosse y pintandosse comoi llos los rostros hablando sus idiomas, asistiendo à sus baylas casandosse con los Yndios, y rescattando pieles por puerias, cuchillos y armas de fuego aque son miu proenso los Yndios." Quoted in Yoakum's Hist. of Texas, vol. i. p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> For the Dutch at the Cape see Banister's Humane Policy, App., Nos. 2 and 3. Contrast Napier's Cape of Good Hope, vol. i. The prosperity of Java rests on forced labour. A professed eulogist of the "cultuur-stelsel" makes this important admission: "The only English aim it did not attain was, what the Dutch had no wish to secure, the religious and intellectual elevation of the native." Money's

Java, vol. i. p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> See Atkinson's Travels. But when the barbarian rises above the mediocrity of a Kirghis, no longer pioneers, but exterminators.

<sup>4</sup> An apostolate—medial or final? Möhler, holding the former, would regard Islam as the Judaism of Africa, as preparatory, that is, for a purer religion. A striking view, but perhaps more striking than sound. If Islam has missed its aim in its native seats, why should it be more successful in Africa? Judaism itself, if designed to prepare a *nation*, failed. Again, Islam is the conscious rival, Judaism was the prophetic herald, of Christianity. On the other hand, Mr. W. Reade regards it as an end, as the ultimate hope for African civilization. Alas, then, for Africa, and alas for Christendom, if the Gospel be no better than the Koran!

To be a Moslem is doubtless better than

black race. It is startling to find a literary movement at Timbuctoo.

1. The Spanish conquest in America drew out to an unparalleled degree all that was humane and all that was selfish in the civilized men of that age. Perhaps for that very reason Providence permitted them, for certain is it that, just before they took place, the triumph of Christian charity seemed well-nigh assured. True, a compromise between bigotry and avarice had given a temporary excitement to the declining slave-trade, but it seemed that, as legitimate commerce advanced, the negroes would be allowed to enjoy unmolested their savage freedom. These hopes were destined to a quaintly sad contradiction. Two of our typical races were reduced to slavery, the one by avarice, the other by a mistaken humanity.

Three periods may be traced in the Spanish relations with the Indians — ferocious oppression, struggling humanity, and final settlement. Over the first of these we pass lightly. Those who doubt the statistics of the fervid Las Casas may be disposed to credit the sober Prescott, who computes that in less than four years, one-third of the population of Hispaniola, amounting probably to several hundred thousands, were sacrificed<sup>2</sup>. And who dare judge the sacrificers? Michelena triumphantly inquires if the Spaniards ever did anything so bad as the Anglo-Australians, who were in the habit of placing corrosive sublimate in the woods, to destroy any "aborigine" who might chance to find it.

The second is a much more grateful and instructive period. Never perhaps was error so amply redeemed as was Spanish oppression by Spanish humanity. Two great systems, however vicious, not unmixt with good, were invented for this end, that of *encomiendas* and Negro-slavery. Theoretically an *encomienda* was the right of receiving the tribute of a certain number of Indians, with the charge of providing for their welfare, both temporal and spiritual. But to an infant colony a supply of labour is

to be a fetish-worshipper; it is best of all to analyze the causes of Moslem triumphs. All Christian missions, even those of the Roman Catholics, have been paralyzed by premature interference with native customs. Moses contented himself with regulating what was imperfect; so did Mohammed. An Afro-Christian Moses or Mohammed, or even a native Church, if untrammelled by European superintendence, may yet fulfil the forlorn hope of centuries, the conversion of Africa.

<sup>2</sup> The word "fetish" is an enduring monument of this period.

<sup>3</sup> See Las Casas, *Destruccion de las Indias*, widely circulated throughout Europe by translations. The following is taken from a French translation published

at Lyon, 1642. In his preface, the translator makes political capital out of the Spanish cruelties. "Véritablement je croy et ne pense point estre abusé, qu'il en est mort plus de quinze millions. Si bien que de trois millions d'ames qui estoient en l'Isle Espagnole, et que nous auôs veuës, il n'y a pas maintenant des naturels du pays deux cens personnes." p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> A fairer, but still imperfect, parallel might be found in "The relation of the barbarous massacre in time of peace and league, treacherously executed by the native infidels upon the English the 22nd of March, 1622." Bannister's *British Colonization*, p. 51.



beyond all price; the tribute, therefore, was in practice commuted for personal service. Every year, as the time came round, a certain number of Indians were carried from their homes, in order to work out the tribute for themselves and their *pueblo*. This personal service was for many weary years the centre of strife between the Court and the colonists<sup>a</sup>. In spite of the most complicated provisions for the welfare of the natives, it required the most vigorous exertions on the part of Kings, Ministers, and "Protectors" to preserve them, not only from being oppressed, but even enslaved. Queen Isabella deserves special honour, when Columbus himself gave way to temptation. "The conversion and civilization of this simple people form the burden of most of her official communications from the earliest period<sup>a</sup>."

Las Casas introduced, or rather procured the legalization of, another remedial measure, Negro slavery. Not that a worthy name hallowed the wrong; Las Casas himself penitently deplores his error. But it is certain that it greatly relieved the Indians<sup>b</sup>, and certain too, that granting the existence of slavery at all, the laws which were passed to regulate it were wise and humane ones<sup>c</sup>, laws which even in Cuba have only been disused for half a century.

What was the spirit in which this delicate question was finally settled? A proof stronger than words of Spanish tenderness for Indian frailty is that remarkable law which treated them as minors, and annulled all obligations contracted by them above the value of fifteen francs. Humboldt, indeed, saw danger in the concession, and certain is it that a yearning for independence still lurks in the bosom of the Indians<sup>d</sup>. The Church, however, took the same view of their character as the State. They were exempted from the Inquisition, excluded from the Eucharist, and seldom admitted into religious orders<sup>e</sup>. The ceremonies of a mild religion were substituted, perhaps imperfectly, for those of a sanguinary one<sup>f</sup>; this was all the change produced by the teaching of the missionaries.

Revolutions have brought few blessings to the simple Indians. Their long minority has come to an end; they are more heavily taxed, but in other respects left to neglect<sup>g</sup>.

2. Few nations have been more ill-used by fortune than the French. The earliest and, some may think, the worthiest of

<sup>a</sup> Helps's *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iii. p. 134.

<sup>b</sup> Bancroft's *United States*, ch. v.

<sup>c</sup> Whilst in Hispaniola and Cuba there is not an Indian left, in Mexico the French army have found four millions of pure Indian inhabitants.

<sup>d</sup> Humboldt, *Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 171; Helps, vol. ii. p. 371.

<sup>e</sup> Markham's *Peru*, p. 179; Merivale on *Colonies*, p. 285.

<sup>f</sup> Robertson's *America*, Works, vol. viii. p. 112.

<sup>g</sup> Compare M<sup>me</sup> Calderon de la Barca's *Life in Mexico*, p. 287. What Humboldt refers to a native tendency, Merivale attributes to the force of circumstances. But the statement of the former perfectly agrees with the Indian character.

<sup>h</sup> "No one appears much interested in the matter." Private letter from Chile. But see Markham's *Peru*.

colonists in the sixteenth century, a place among colonizing nations is barely granted them in the nineteenth. We are in danger of forgetting that vast dominion which stretched from proud Quebec in the North to beautiful New Orleans in the South. They were far the earliest in the field, for years before the May-flower anchored at New Plymouth, the rumour if not the substance of French power had reached as far westward as the shores of Lake Huron<sup>b</sup>. How they were the worthiest remains to be shewn.

The most striking point in the history of "New France" is the influence of the missionaries, an influence the greater because unsought, and based on the one true principle in a faulty administration, that Christianity was the surest means of propitiating the savage mind. The first English Protestant missionaries enjoyed similar power in New Zealand;—they too were honest and self-denying men, but hardly gain by comparison with the Jesuits. For the missionary band in America was a picked and an united band. The highest rank, zeal, wisdom, found promotion in the work of converting the half-naked savages of Canada<sup>c</sup>. They formed a solid phalanx, which no native feuds, such as those even of New Zealand, could have availed to break. But there were more important differences of principle. The excesses of the Coureurs des Bois were as distressing to the Jesuit, as those of the Pakeha Maories were to the Protestant missionaries. But they proposed opposite remedies. The latter earnestly resisted, the former as earnestly invited colonization, and while the English finally became landed proprietors, the French remained as poor as when they first set foot on American soil<sup>k</sup>.

Another striking point is a corollary from the first. We may search Charlevoix in vain for any appearance of Indian slavery. Hear an Ojibway chief:—"When the Frenchmen arrived at these Falls, they came and kissed us. They called us children, and we found them fathers. We lived like brethren in the same lodge, and we had always wherewithal to clothe us. They never mocked at our ceremonies, and they never molested the places of our dead. Seven generations of men have passed away, but we have not forgotten it. Just, very just, were they towards us!" Not that the French intercourse with the Indians was as pure and guiltless as the missionaries wished. The trade in skins had fallen into the hands of middle-men, called Coureurs des Bois, men too enamoured themselves of savage licence to make any effort towards arresting or reforming it. The Pakeha Maories were the pioneers of civilization, the Coureurs des Bois brought with them nothing but the

<sup>b</sup> Bancroft's *United States*, vol. iii. p. 118.

<sup>c</sup> Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, vol. i. p. 203. Contrast the two abbés, Raynal and Charlevoix, the sophist and the saint.

<sup>k</sup> Charlevoix, i. 429. Their disinterestedness appeared to the Iroquois a great argument in favour of their doctrine.

<sup>l</sup> Mrs. Jameson's *Sketches in Canada*, p. 148.

white men's vices. Yet, wiser in their French levity than the stern Puritans in their pride, they were first to exhibit the happy results of amalgamation of race<sup>m</sup>.

The missionaries urged, but apparently in vain, the establishment of settlements in the interior "pour franciser les sauvages<sup>n</sup>." The miserable, wandering life of the savages was paralyzing their labours. Cleanliness and providence, this was the modest civilization thought good for the Indians, yet Père de Charlevoix can only write in 1721, that matters have slightly improved since the arrival of the French<sup>o</sup>. They thought, then, that a more guarded acquaintance, for at least a few months of the year, with the reliefs and decencies of civilization, would predispose those childish minds for religious instruction.

The scheme proved abortive. Painfully they gathered round them a few "predestined souls" into orderly Christian *bourgades*. At least they could console themselves with the fervour of their Neophytes<sup>p</sup>. If they held them in trammels, it was for their good, and those trammels were light. If they did well to regard them as children, the Roman Catholic religion was admirably adapted for their treatment. Sometimes (and Protestant teachers have fared the same) an Indian would escape from the cage to his native forest. Then the missionaries would win him back by persuasion; the Spanish Fathers would have pursued him with soldiers.

On the whole, the battle was lost for civilization, but won for humanity. But the humanity of the age reached not to the black race. Excellent as was the Code Noir, the French proved no better masters than others. Terrible was the day of reckoning in the queenly colony of St. Domingo. Most short-sighted the policy, but most nice the sense of justice, when the mine which exploded at Haiti was fired at Paris<sup>q</sup>!

3. But while Couriers were trading—lazily as old France herself,—and farmers harvesting, and missionaries teaching, a bolder race of colonists were spending lives of terrible earnestness. On one side were torpid civilization and active charity, on the other a timid charity but an iron civilization. Charity must grow stronger, and civilization milder, before the third of our typical races fulfils its destiny under English guardianship.

<sup>m</sup> See W. Irving's *Astoria*.

<sup>n</sup> Charlevoix, iii. 90. Compare Mr. Hind's opinion:—"The Indians must be induced to settle in one place for a few months of the year at least." *Narrative of Canadian Expedition*, vol. i. p. 210. With this reserve we may listen to the confession of a Quaker philanthropist in America:—"We erred, sorrowfully erred, in the plan which was originally adopted, in making civilization the first object; for we cannot count on a single individual that we have brought to the full know-

ledge of Christianity."

<sup>o</sup> Charlevoix, iii. 339.

<sup>p</sup> *Relations des Jésuites en 1657*, p. 29. See Père Marest's description of the missions in Illinois, Yoakum's *Hist. of Texas*, vol. i. p. 58. See the ingenious argument adopted by another Father to prove the existence of a God, Charlevoix, ii. 66.

<sup>q</sup> The French in Algeria have barely recognized their functions as civilizers. The land-claims of the natives are as formidable an obstacle as they have been found in New Zealand.

For slavery, less organized than among the Spaniards, but still slavery, was the common lot of Indian captives<sup>r</sup>. The Judaical Puritan justified it to his conscience, the worldly Virginian to his interest, more fairly the citizen of Brotherly Love to his moral powerlessness<sup>s</sup>. Yet that was an easy lot to the Negro's. Few in Europe can have known the one, the other was eagerly watched from the throne itself. The prevalence of the taint is its best excuse. Not bravery itself was proof against it. The "cold blue eye<sup>t</sup>" of an Armada hero was first to be dazzled by the un-knightly spoil.

Such was the first period of our trial as civilizers, an age of rude struggles and rude morality, of a few half-glimpses of our duty to the savages, and a few first awkward attempts to fulfil it.

The second period may be dated from the conquest of Canada in 1763. In truth it had been long preparing. We had long since won our liberties, and civil peace had brought more civil manners. Secretaries of State, Governors, and Parliaments, all have interested themselves in their Indian children. Already we divide the Indian heart with the French. Already Christianity and agriculture have partially stayed the waste of lives<sup>u</sup>. Our modern Eliots and Brainerds are Christianizing the natives—more slowly far, perhaps more surely, than the missionaries of Rome.

The fate of the Indians of the States may be sketched in nearly the same hues as that of the Negroes—light, deep shade, and again a sober light. "The Great American" (so the Indians call Washington) was just and kind both to the red man and the black. Not only Washington, but Jackson himself, treated Negro soldiers as comrades and patriots. But the middle period was one of bitter humiliation, so extreme that emancipation was almost unknown, too extreme to be borne, were it not for the tradition of the past, and the folly of the oppressors themselves. It was the absurd scheme of extinguishing slavery by transporting the slaves which created abolitionism. Garrison's imprisonment and the idea of a white man's advocacy electrified the Negroes.

The planters took the alarm, and began too late to soften the rigour of slavery. The Negroes became quiet and submissive ;

<sup>r</sup> See the notices in Hildreth's Hist. of the United States ; also Baunister's British Colonization.

<sup>s</sup> "The export of Indian slaves into that province, except such as had been a year domiciled in the family of the importer, had already been prohibited by an act, especially referring to this Carolina traffic 'as having given our neighbouring Indians of this province some umbrage for suspicion and dissatisfaction.'" Hildreth, vol. ii. p. 270. The error of Penn was in becoming a proprietor without guarantees

for justice being done to the natives. Baunister's Brit. Col., ch. viii.

<sup>t</sup> See Sir John Hawkins's portrait.

<sup>u</sup> "The theory of the steady decline in their numbers is *positively contradicted by experience*, when they are established in villages and properly superintended. There is no inherent defect in the organization of the Indians which disqualifies them from being reclaimed from their savage state." Hind's Narrative of the Canadian Exploring Expedition, vol. ii. p. 186.

quiet because confident, submissive because dissimulating. Unknown to all, they were ripening for emancipation<sup>x</sup>.

If the Negro felt the pressure from within, the Indian felt it from without. Both justice and philanthropy befriended the one, justice alone befriended the other. A mock-philanthropy expelled the Indian from his hunting-ground, sometimes from his civilized home<sup>y</sup>; justice has found a defender in Schoolcraft, but the result of his labours has yet to be seen.

Those who desire a crucial test of our progress as civilizers should study the history of New Zealand—a history fraught with good intentions, with partial success and lamentable failure. Chief among the causes of success was a happy adaptation of character. Seamen and agriculturists, however backward, cool-headed and keenly alive to improvements, the Maories easily won respect, and soon confidence. Many a restless Englishman built his log-house among them, and became, as Pakeha Maori, or foreign native, of the tribe, the factor of a profitable flax-trade. His native wife and half-caste children, his glass windows, rude furniture, and civilized habits excited the first desires for improvement long before Marsden saw the chief Duatara in the streets of Sydney<sup>z</sup>. Then followed Christianity, as potent as of old, less adventurously but more unassailably, lending humanity to manners, and chivalry to war<sup>a</sup>, and proclaiming anew in medieval New Zealand “the Truce of God.”

The next inevitable stage, colonization, was marred by our old inconsiderateness. The Maori yearned for order and government, and we left him to his feuds and anarchy. He twined his heart-strings about the soil, and we violated equity in our haste to appropriate it<sup>b</sup>. The King movement, in which his impatience found vent, stands almost alone in the history of civilization. Who, in modern times, but the Maories have essayed to rise from barbarism by means of laws and institutions which themselves were to make and administer<sup>c</sup>? Haiti must pale before New Zealand. Perhaps the Maori has hit the very ideal of civilization.

<sup>x</sup> See the Edinburgh Review, No. 243.

<sup>y</sup> See De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, vol. i. pp. 418—423, but compare Schoolcraft's *American Indians*, pp. 378—387.

<sup>z</sup> Thomson's *Story of New Zealand*, vol. i. p. 303. For the reverse side of the picture see Hursthouse's *New Zealand*, p. 448.

<sup>a</sup> Swainson's *New Zealand and its Colonization*, p. 34.

<sup>b</sup> “The opinion of the law officers of the Crown brought to light the fact that the natives have hitherto been left as

entirely without law or tribunal for the determination of questions relating to territorial rights, as they were before the discovery of the country by Capt. Cook.” “From time immemorial, land has been the principal cause of quarrel among them.” Swainson.

<sup>c</sup> Swainson's *New Zealand and the War*, pp. 25—44. Such was it at the outset. Hursthouse (a fair representative of colonial feeling) indicates other less noble motives, but which, however credible, do not invalidate the statement in the text. *New Zealand*, p. 445.

#### IV.

"Of all vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effects of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences."—MILL, *Political Economy*, i. 390.

Such is civilization in action, what is it in theory? The question may be easily answered by inferring the one from the other, for no inveterate abuse escapes being moulded into theory, and even the most well-intentioned theory will acquire a taint, it seems, inevitably, from the imperfect morality of its agents. "An indissoluble and perpetual league of friendship" is the burden of the royal letters-missive granted to the fleet of the old Russia Company in 1553<sup>d</sup>. Half a century later, and the cruelties of a Fro-bisher are faintly reflected in the aspirations of a Raleigh. "The chief hath neither shot nor iron weapon in all his empire, and therefore may easily be conquered," says the great soldier-philosopher of the age, about 1600<sup>e</sup>. The philosopher, however, had a moral check in his theories, which the plain man of the sword knew not. Sir John Hawkins had already sailed on his first buccaneering slave-voyage in 1562<sup>f</sup>. It was reserved for a later century to theorize Avernus into Elysium. That was the last step of the easy descent, the last desperate struggle, when the enemy was brought to bay by the more powerful successors of Penn and the Quakers.

The popular solutions of our problem may be classed in two divisions, slavery and tutelage. Both in their crudest forms depend on the assumed natural superiority of some races to others,—a venerable *πρωτον ψευδος* which dates back to the time of Aristotle. Ancient slavery, however, with all its alleviations, is hardly appreciable as a civilizing medium, by the side of that vast concentration of debased African blood in the West Indies and America. Whatever may be the value of the relation thus created may be supposed to be heightened to the fullest degree by the singular homogeneity of the subject caste. This, then, is the experiment, at least hypothetically philanthropic, civilization by slavery. Ordinary processes are thought inapplicable to so inferior a species as the Negro. Must experiment and hypothesis fall together? For if there is any demonstrable result in history and physiology, it is this,—that every race, according to its measure, has a capacity for civilization. The Egyptian who built the Pyramids shades almost imperceptibly down to the typical Negro of Guinea, and the Hottentot of the Cape<sup>g</sup>. Not Liberia, with its exotic mimicry of Cau-

<sup>d</sup> Bannister's *British Colonization*, p. 29.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>f</sup> Froude's *Hist. of England*, vol. viii. p. 470.

<sup>g</sup> If recent ethnological speculations are correct, it is no untrue filiation which attaches the Hottentot to the Egyptian. See Brace's *Races of the Old World*, p. 233.

casian forms, but that world within itself, the native civilized kingdoms of the Mohammedan interior, are the true expression of African capacity. No less clear is the physiological argument<sup>h</sup>, at least so far as an ἰδιώτης can discern it amidst the tangled controversy between Huxley and his opponents. Doubtless the Negro and the European are typical extremes, but every intermediate form can be traced between them. Indeed it is only relatively that the former deserves his name, for "a true black skin scarcely exists<sup>i</sup>."

That debasement, which Nature designed not, and chafes to endure, was brought to pass by the unhappy configuration of the African continent<sup>k</sup>. There no mighty estuaries wooed the intercourse of foreign civilization. Or if some wandering crew, fearless of malaria in the service of commerce, landed on those shores, they found its spell had been laid before them on the jealous, illiberal minds of the maritime tribes. So did the latter at once perpetuate their own degradation, and prevent the inhabitants of the inland heights from seizing the opportunity of culture and improvement.

It remains to be seen whether a wisely moderated servitude might not be made one means among others of elevating the Negro. We have been told what he is in Dahomey; we know what he is in Jamaica, even after the undeniable progress of thirty years<sup>l</sup>. But even a harsh system of slavery has not been devoid of countervailing advantages. The Carolina slave, with all his drawbacks, has risen many degrees higher than his African kindred<sup>m</sup>. A more civilized Africa, with its ten millions of coloured inhabitants<sup>n</sup>, has arisen in the New World. Such is the costly, unfinished experiment of American slavery:—unfinished yet, for we find an Abolitionist general enacting the revival of villeinage, costly enough by its waste of labour, costlier still by its waste of life. If a harsh and purely civil servitude can effect so much, what might not be attained by a milder form under religious control? Mental and bodily indolence is the bane of the Negro and the torment of his missionary; Christianity, instilled

<sup>h</sup> "Tridemann," says Sir Charles Lyell, "judging by the capacity of the cranium, found the brains of some of our uncivilized British ancestors not more developed than the average-sized negro's brain." Second Visit to the United States, vol. i. p. 129. Dr. Thomson states that New Zealanders' heads are smaller than the heads of Englishmen, yet their engineering talent is well known. The capacity of the Indians for civilization is abundantly shewn, especially in the case of the Cherokees, by Wilson in Pre-historic Man.

<sup>i</sup> Prof. Huxley's Eighth Lecture on the Structure and Classification of Mammalia.

<sup>k</sup> See Livingstone's Researches, p. 506,

and an eloquent passage in Appendix I. to Arnold's Thucydides, vol. i.

<sup>l</sup> For the bright side of emancipation, which has been distinctly proved to predominate, see Sewell's Ordeal of Free Labour, reviewed in the *Edinburgh*, No. 233, and Underhill's West Indies. The arguments of Cairnes (Slave Labour, pp. 39—42) relate to the Americanized Negro, not to the unimproved African.

<sup>m</sup> See *Edinburgh Review*, No. 243. Enough remains after every deduction to prove the statement in the text.

<sup>n</sup> Wilson's Pre-historic Man, vol. ii. p. 397.

with wisdom, can cure the one, might not a wisely-limited servitude avail to cure the other? And this is no ideal state, for it has been realized once and again by the Jew and the Moslem°. The law-givers of the two nations rival each other in exhortations to kindness. Of course the crowning difficulty would be in controlling the masters. If the Europeans of our day had only as much faith in their religion as the Moslems!

But whether we grant or deny that servitude may be remedial for the Negro, none can doubt that to other races it would not only be useless, but harmful. The Red Indian hunter is too restless to bear it, the languid Polynesian too delicate, the clever New Zealander too enterprising; and yet all are alike in danger from the unscrupulous lawlessness, or the complicated justice, which form the two phases of colonial civilization. Spanish humanity, struggling with Spanish oppression, devised the system of tutelage, a legacy which, under different forms, animated by different theories, and with different results, has been handed down from Las Casas to Sir George Grey. These various theories, however, may be classed under two heads, according to the views entertained of the position of the natives. If we regard them, Indian, Polynesian, or Maori, as an inferior race, doomed to ultimate extinction, then all that we can do is to smooth their lot, till they die away like "the end of an auld sang."

So appear to have thought the illustrious Jesuit Fathers, who founded that unique specimen of evangelical communism<sup>p</sup>, the Missions of Paraguay (1610). Muratori, among the dry tomes of the Library of Modena, found relief in describing that "Happy Christianity<sup>q</sup>." The amiable Charlevoix mildly but firmly refuted its slanderers<sup>r</sup>. With subdued Protestant fervour, Southey forgives them their superstition "for the noble efforts which they made in behalf of the oppressed Indians." Noble, but self-condemned,—too limited or too expansive. Too limited, for if the Indians are amenable to civilization, why arrest its progress? Too expansive, for if the Indians are inferior beings, ("bambini colla barba" is Muratori's expressive phrase<sup>s</sup>), this is the very plea

° In but one respect our theory differs from that of the author of *Savage Africa*. Instead of withdrawing the Cross, we would learn a lesson from the Crescent. But might not our missionaries learn one at least from the Jesuits? No convert was allowed to idle on the Reductions of Paraguay.

<sup>p</sup> Southey remarks that their converts carried out the precepts to become as little children, and take no thought for the morrow, into literal practice.

<sup>q</sup> Muratori, *Il Felice Cristianesimo del Paraguai*.

<sup>r</sup> The charges brought against the Je-

suits by the partisans of the civil government are summed up in a hostile work, entitled *L'Histoire du Paraguay sous les Jésuites*, (Amst. et Leips. 1780). The first three, which are the best founded, are these:—"Ne leur donner d'instruction qu'autant qu'il en est besoin pour l'utilité des Pères mêmes. Joindre à l'ignorance de ces malheureux l'idée la plus basse d'eux-mêmes. Ajouter à l'ignorance et à l'abrutissement la dépendance absolue où ils tiennent les Indiens." See Southey's *Hist. of Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 345.

<sup>s</sup> Muratori, quoted by Southey, vol. ii. p. 363.



advanced in their own defence by Portuguese slave-dealers and Spanish *encomenderos*. But if the flaw was logical, deadly was Nature's vengeance. The population of that mental and physical prison-house constantly diminished<sup>†</sup>, but its rulers were blind. They even consoled themselves, true Spaniards that they were, by reflecting that heaven was peopled with their losses, that each convert missed on earth was an intercessor gained above<sup>‡</sup>: "Whom the gods love, die young!"

Such was the result of the system of perpetual tutelage under the most favourable circumstances. When avarice, instead of humanity, becomes the guiding principle, the failure is more complete. Scarcely has civilization taken a feeble root, when round the sacred reserve echoes an irresistible cry for land, further and further into the forest recedes the Indian trail, till no refuge is left but the lake-buildings of forgotten days, or an unknown grave in the broad Pacific.

\* The question remains,—Is it a Law of Nature that the progress of one race should be founded on the extinction of another? Such, doubtless, is the effect gradually, though seldom totally<sup>‡</sup>, of interfering with what Agassiz calls the zones of vegetable and animal life. Ever-green intruders from the south have displaced the *lata æsculeta* and most of the other deciduous trees of ancient Italy. Fear of man has driven the ostrich to the burning wastes of Africa, while to acclimatize the blackbird and the thrush is to destroy their gaudy, songless congeners in Australia. But there is no evidence to shew that, in a sense like this, any single race of man is superior to another. The fact, however, must be admitted of a gradual decline and even disappearance of certain races,—how are we to account for it? Partly and chiefly by our own moral deficiencies and imperfect civilization, partly by pre-existent causes beyond our control<sup>§</sup>, causes which render it likely that, even if a white man had never landed in the New World, the fate of many at least of its native races was already sealed.

The true remedy probably lies in a temporary tutelage, followed by a gradual amalgamation. Tutelage, at least, there must be, and no feeble hand to guide it, if the unthinking Indian is to be saved from the demon's lure. Contrast the crouching, degraded victim of "fire-water" with his manly, laborious, and even "go-ahead" neighbour, seldom perhaps of pure Indian blood, but in all the essentials of character Indian still. Tutelage made the one, as the want of tutelage unmade the other. The first stage, then, in reclaiming the Indian must be one of insulation,

<sup>†</sup> Merivale's *Lects. on Colonization*, p. 299. Peaceful little Pitcairn's Island, with its short-lived inhabitants, seems to confirm this solution.

<sup>‡</sup> Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay*, tom. i. p. 219.

<sup>§</sup> Decandolle compares it to the gra-

dual, seldom total, disappearance of old words.

<sup>¶</sup> It is almost superfluous to allude to the bloody wars between the tribes, licentiousness, infanticide, especially female, and intermarriage between members of the same tribe.

the first lesson that of a settled life, the first teachers the ministers of religion. It is the moral element which is out of proportion with the intellectual, and moral force alone can redress the balance. A religion which commends itself to his heart will end by influencing his head. The forest wigwam will give way to the cottage and the clearing. Old social customs, dearly as he loved them, will fade away. There is no race so easily governed as the Indian.

But the first stage, important as it is, must be pressed forward with the utmost zeal, for it cannot last. No guard will be secure against temptation, no moral theory will encase a hot-bed innocence. The most learned missionaries, could we find them, would not compensate for the total want of emulation. Intermarriages would thin the numbers, and threaten the very existence of the tribe. Or did they aspire to civil enfranchisement, the mode of native tenure would alone prevent their obtaining it. Indeed, the present state of the law is said to cause general discontent<sup>z</sup>. A keen desire is felt to mix on an equal footing with the whites, but till some provision is made for modifying the tribal tenure of land, the Indian, however civilized, is bound hand and foot. One relation only, that of servant to master, is still open, but the pride of the *αὐτόχθων* rebels against it. So is it in America, so is it in New Zealand, and so, but for the softening influences of famine, would it be in Caffraria.

Be it so, till our Indian children are of full age. Gladly then will they merge their own, with many a mightier race, in the great half-formed Euro-American nationality. Nearly two hundred years have passed since Government, in the interest of the Indian, assumed the right of pre-emption<sup>a</sup>. The same interest now requires that right to be abdicated.

The first step (it is the suggestion of a born Anglo-Saxon, but adopted Indian) should be a division of the lands of the tribe among themselves, with the power of alienation to each other under such conditions as would be adapted to the case. "This would serve to prepare the way for other changes, until finally they could be restored, with safety to themselves, not only to the full possession of those rights of property which are common to ourselves, but also to the rights and privileges of citizens of the State. When this time arrives, they will cease to be Indians except in name<sup>b</sup>."

<sup>z</sup> "Indians at the present time enjoy no political rights or advantages. They cannot vote at elections for members of Parliament, nor sit as jurors, however qualified they may be, simply because they have no title-deeds for their lands. I feel confident that these things act as a powerful check to their advancement in the arts of civilized life. I have often heard them say that it is not much use

for the Indians to aim at the exalted privileges of their white neighbours, as they will never be allowed to enjoy them." The Rev. Peter Jones (Chief and Missionary), *Hist. of the Ojibways*.

<sup>a</sup> New Zealand also is over-ripe for the same change. See p. 31.

<sup>b</sup> Morgan's *League of the Iroquois*, p. 456.

But without a further and more absolute amalgamation, that of blood, even this would be fruitless. "Instances are not wanting," says Professor Hind, "to shew that compact reservations surrounded by the whites are a state favourable to the civilization and progress of the Indians<sup>c</sup>." The Iroquois are said "to have passed the most critical stage in the collision between savage and civilized man; and settled on their little farms apart from the populous centres of trade and commerce, to be improving both socially and morally<sup>d</sup>." But the blood which flows in the veins of the Iroquois is the purest Indian, and unless intermixture with the whites avert the doom, this apparent prosperity is nothing better than gilded decay.

Not so is it with the Indians in general. War itself, with its din and changefulness, could not interrupt, sometimes even ministered to, the steady process of absorption. It was long, indeed, before English exclusiveness gave way to the counsels of policy or the necessities of a half-savage border-land. Long had the Indian red blood intermingled with the old Gothic blue, when here and there a New England Puritan, a fugitive Loyalist or a prisoner of war, or a hardy rival of the Couriers of the Wood, followed the example by taking Indian wives. The Red River settlement is an instance on a grand scale. "In 1849 there were 137 more males than females, including those of mixed blood, in the settlements; and the result has been, not only the growth of a half-breed population greatly outnumbering the white, but the formation of a tribe of Half-breeds, a race who keep themselves distinct in manners, habits, and allegiance, alike from the Indians and the whites<sup>e</sup>." The half-breeds are both physically and mentally superior to the Indians; they are chiefly Roman Catholics, and have long abandoned the use of the scalping-knife. Many of them possess considerable property, and traces at least of Indian features: the straight black hair and the glazy eye have been observed at vice-regal levees, in the chambers of the Legislature, and in the lecture-rooms of the University<sup>f</sup>.

We see the same process going on in Africa and the islands of the Pacific. An infusion of Dutch blood has produced the most civilized tribe of Hottentots, the Griquas<sup>g</sup>. The Anglo-Tahitians of Pitcairn's Island are a strong, active, and industrious race. In New Zealand, Dr. Thomson (1858) reckoned the half-caste population at 2,000. "Physically," he says, "they are a noble and beautiful race, and they only require education to develop the force and power of their minds<sup>h</sup>."

<sup>c</sup> Hind's Narrative, vol. ii. p. 195.

<sup>d</sup> Wilson's Pre-historic Man, vol. ii. p. 363.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid., p. 347.

<sup>f</sup> There is no legal impediment to marriage between a Red Indian and a white man.

<sup>g</sup> Casalis, The Basutos, p. xiii.

<sup>h</sup> Hursthouse, on the other hand, holds "that if amalgamation is ever to do anything to save or change the Maori, it will do nothing till the Maori has very considerably changed himself." p. 122. With all his cleverness, the Maori is without that fine moral sense possessed by the Indian.

In estimating the direct benefit of amalgamation, we have to distinguish three sorts. The first, unexceptionably good, is that which takes place between members of the same race, between Romans and Goths, Saxons and Danes, Gauls and Franks. The second, less decidedly good, is that which takes place between members of different races, those of the predominant one being superior in civilization. So is it with Europeans and the different native races of the New World, so should it have been with the Aryan conquerors and conquered aborigines of Hindustan. The third, which is always to be deplored, is that which takes place between members of different races, those of the predominant race being inferior in civilization. An example may be found in Russia. Two centuries of Mongol conquest have thrown the Russians to the rear, not only of European, but even of Slavic civilization.

It is the second of these three kinds with which we are most concerned, and experience on the whole speaks favourably of the process. The intermixture of the red race and the white is unquestionably beneficial to the former, in Professor Wilson's judgment it is beneficial also to the latter. A part of the peculiar character which distinguishes the Anglo-American race may perhaps be due to the red blood infused into it.

In the fertile plains of tropical America, a great future depends on the Mestizo race. In vain does that exuberant nature invite civilization, while its deadly climate destroys those who bear it. But the Mestizo of the Amazon is already acclimatized, and even if, like the half-caste of Canada, he is too irresolute to lead, a cargo or two of books and machinery, and a few cautiously temperate Europeans to direct them, will be enough to inaugurate with the certainty of success a magnificent empire.

Nor is this remarkable result confined to the New World. Perhaps even Asia herself may be roused from her sleep of ages by her half-breed children. Some of the highest offices in the government of Ceylon are filled by the sons of English fathers by Asiatic mothers. The future princes of the East (so Combe conjectures) may probably be drawn from this mixed race.

The fusion of the white race with the Negro is a more difficult question. Hitherto the prejudice of colour or the opposition of the law have prevented it from being fairly tried. Our perplexities are increased by the extravagance of partizanship. On the one hand are the last wild vagaries of fanatical abolitionists, on the other are the more scientific but equally unwarranted statements of a higher class of theorists, represented by Dr. Nott. The declamation of the former is beneath comment, the speculations of the latter have been examined, and, as most of his readers will be inclined to think, refuted by the learned author of "*Pre-historic Man.*"

But however we may determine the case of the Negro, our

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